



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

PROGRESS IN PHILADELPHIA

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF

Philadelphia

For many years (since 1854), Philadelphia's governmental machinery was burdened by a double-chambered legislature of 146 members—48 in the upper branch and 98 in the lower, making it one of the largest of its kind not only in America but in the world. To expect satisfactory results from such a body modeled on the federal plan of government was to expect the impossible. It made "organization" or "boss" control necessary and inevitable. In 1919, as a consequence of years of incessant agitation and activity, a new charter was granted the city by the state legislature which represented a victory for strong, simple, representative government, thus fairly completing the great movement begun in 1900 at Galveston. The outstanding achievement of this new charter, which by the way is a model of conciseness, consisting of 23,282 words and likewise a model of admirable draftsmanship, is a small council of twenty-one. The members receive a living wage in the shape of an annual salary of \$5,000. The members of the old council served without pay—from the city. In some instances they held other administrative offices, mostly under the county government; sometimes a federal office; sometimes in an important corporation. Practically all of them were in a position where strong outside influence could be brought to bear upon them if they showed signs of dangerous or embarrassing independence.

Under the new charter the councilmen are elected for a term of four years from the eight senatorial districts which are as nearly homogeneous and compact as it is possible to make political subdivisions.

We now have a South Philadelphia district, a West Philadelphia one, a northeastern district, a central district, a German-town district, and so on through the list, all with substantially

similar needs and composition. There is at least one councilman from each district and one additional councilman for each 20,000 assessed voters. So as to keep the council small, and as a recognition of coming events, the charter contains an interesting provision that "if at any time hereafter the women of the Commonwealth shall be given the right to vote, the unit of representation shall be 40,000 assessed voters instead of 20,000, so that the council shall continue to be composed of twenty-one members."

One of the arguments most frequently urged for a small, compact municipal legislature has been the facilities it affords the voter to understand his government and run it directly without the intervention of a great corps of practical politicians. While advocating the charter before the people of Philadelphia it was maintained that such a body would constitute a form of representative government which the voters themselves could handle with a minimum of political organization. My gratification can be easily imagined when I read that Congressman Vare, one of the two brothers at that time controlling the political organization in Philadelphia, declared before the Young Republican Club: "Abolish councils and you lose your trained politicians; and if that happens where will we ever get a candidate for mayor?" Certainly our experience with mayors for some years prior to the new charter had been such as to contemplate such a possibility with a considerable degree of equanimity!

To be sure it is too soon to speak with positiveness as to the extent to which anticipations have been met, but it is a fair question to ask, "To what extent has the new council made good during the first six months of its operation?" It is equally fair to reply that the results thus far have not been such as to make the advocates of the charter unduly proud. At the same time, for one I believe that the new provisions represent the embodiment of the representative district, the substitution of an effective instrument for a clumsy one, and the establishment of a legislative body that will in time become not only a real policy-determining body, but the basis of a city-administrator form of government. I hesitate to use the term "city manager" for that might be too considerable of a jolt. It is inevitable though that development of public opinion along those lines is in order, as I shall hope to show later.

No one can maintain, successfully, that the new council is boss-ridden. It certainly has made discussion possible and inevitable. It is no longer a mere machine for the registering of the previously determined will of an organization. It embodies an opportunity for the people to express *their* wishes if they desire. It abolishes dual office-holding in the legislative body, which for a generation had been the corner stone of "organization" control of councils and a curse and an obstacle of great resistance to forward movements. Now no person may hold the office of councilman while holding any other office, position, or employment of profit under the city, county, or state and no councilman shall be eligible to any office under the city during the term for which he shall have been elected. This means much in the way of political freedom, for councilmen are no longer compelled to serve two masters.

Incidentally it is interesting to note that the bicameral council is happily almost extinct, only Baltimore, Atlanta, and Kansas City among the larger cities of the country continuing them. There are also a few New England towns which cling to the federal plan—but all these are doomed, as the movement for simplified local government continues on its triumphant way.

In estimating the advantages of the new council, the breaking down of the influence of the ward must not be overlooked. Many of the wards have not been changed since the year of consolidation (1854). Consequently in the old bicameral body they continued to exercise the same influence as when the first alignment was made. This was manifestly unfair as it gave wards with less than 1,000 registered voters the same weight in the upper branch as the newer wards with 15,000 to 18,000 registered voters. The senatorial districts are not only more homogeneous but have been more frequently rearranged. Moreover, the establishment of a quota for representation makes it possible for those districts which increase their population between reapportionment periods to secure the additional representation to which their increased population entitles them.

Coupled with this prohibition of dual office-holding in the new charter is a modern civil service chapter introducing up-to-date methods of selecting public employees on a basis of merit administered by a commission elected by the council instead of appointed

by the mayor, the chief appointing power in the city. The commission chosen by the council at its organization entered upon the discharge of its highly important duties with a full realization of the employment problems involved. It has begun the classification and standardization of the approximately 15,000 positions, an obligation imposed upon it by the charter. This work will be completed in time to be available for the mayor's use in the preparation of the budget, which the new charter requires him to make. It is the hope and ambition of the Civil Service Commission that in time the council, the administrative branches, and the people generally will come to regard its work as that of the city's employment agency and as the means for placing public service upon a dignified, honorable, and useful basis.

Philadelphia's commission aims to find a substitute for the term "Civil Service Examination," which has proved a positive hindrance to the cause of the merit system. Its connotation is certainly most unfortunate. To most people it suggests a classroom ordeal in which one's chances of survival vary in inverse ratio to the length of time he has been out of school or college. It is quite to be expected, therefore, that any proposal to fill high-grade positions in the public service by civil service methods should meet at first with a considerable degree of skepticism in many quarters.

In a striking leaflet entitled *How Far Can Civil Service Go*, the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research "confesses that at this time it is unable to think of a more suitable term. It throws some additional light upon the real nature of an up-to-date civil service examination and thus helps to introduce a new meaning into an old term. The more progressive civil service commissions have long ceased to rely, to any appreciable extent, on the somewhat academic test used so largely in the early days of the merit system. They now use a series of different tests of a very practical character designed to gauge different qualifications and appropriate for the filling of different types of positions. Carpenters and painters, for example, are no longer asked when Columbus discovered America. They are required to demonstrate their skill by doing an actual job of carpentering or painting. Applicants for high-grade professional, technical, or administrative positions, in like

manner, are no longer quizzed in schoolroom fashion with regard to textbook facts. They are invited to enter a dignified competition in which their past career and their personality are determining factors rather than any feat of memory. In examinations of this character, applicants frequently never meet together in a single room, but prepare their statements of training and experience in their own private offices or in their homes and send them, together with any books or articles they may have published, to the civil service commission by mail. In addition they may be asked to discuss in writing some important technical or administrative problem, which may also be delivered through the mails. All of these evidences of the qualifications of the various applicants are rated by a board of special examiners who themselves are professional men or have had long experience in the kind of work for which the examination is held. Those applicants who receive a passing mark in this part of the test may then be summoned before the special examining board for a personal interview in order that their personal qualifications may also be taken into account. Finally, the grades for the various parts of the test are averaged and the successful applicants are placed on a list of eligibles in the order of their rating. In civil service parlance, this is what is known as the "unassembled examination."

It is no longer necessary to argue the efficacy of this kind of test. It sounds like a sensible method, and experience has demonstrated over and over again that it produces results. Many important public posts with salaries ranging from \$3,000 to \$10,000 have been filled, not only by the federal Civil Service Commission, but by state and local commissions as well. Men of high standing and national reputation have not hesitated to enter an examination when conducted on such a dignified plane. It has been possible, moreover, for persons living in entirely different parts of the country to compete.

In view of the success of this improved type of civil service examination is there any good reason, the bureau most pertinently asks, why we should not proceed with confidence to extend the merit system just as high up in the service as the present law permits us to go? By so doing we shall take a long step toward

making public service not merely a blind-alley employment but a dignified and honorable career.

This new charter not only makes all this possible, but it deals in an up-to-date way with the highly important question of promotion within the municipal service. One of the new city officials came out in opposition to the proposal of the civil service commission that city employees should be promoted in the order of merit as determined by a competitive promotion examination, a limited choice (the first two on the list) being permitted from among those having the highest rating. His argument was that an employee's fitness for promotion can be determined better by his superior than by a civil service examination. As the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research observed, there is nothing at all novel either in the proposal of the commission or in the argument of the protesting new official. Wherever an effort has been made to insure to the young men and women of the community an opportunity for a career in the public service, a rule similar to the one adopted by the Philadelphia civil service commission has been followed. In such cities as New York, Chicago, Buffalo, San Francisco, and Cleveland; and in such states as Ohio, New Jersey, New York, and California, employees in the service are given a reasonable assurance that promotion will be according to merit by requiring that when an appointing officer wants to make a promotion he must select one of the three persons whose names stand highest on the list of eligibles. It would be well, as the bureau says, "for this new official who made his protest against the promotion rule to wait until he has an opportunity of observing its results. He may find the promotion examination a much better instrument of selection than he ever dreamed it to be. As a matter of fact the promotion rule in effect in Philadelphia during a considerable period just prior to 1916 was essentially the same as the one now under consideration, and the results during that period appear to have been highly satisfactory."

Political activity of any kind and payment of political contributions by policemen and firemen are made misdemeanors punishable by fine and imprisonment under the new charter, and those convicted of such practices are debarred from office-holding for a

period of two years. Moreover, any taxpayer may bring proceedings to have the employment of the offender declared illegal and to restrain payment of compensation to him, a powerful lever for the effective enforcement of the law.

As originally introduced the charter bill made political activity on the part of any city or county employee punishable not only by dismissal but also by fine and imprisonment; and the enforcement of this provision was strengthened by giving any taxpayer the right to go into court and by writ of mandamus to compel dismissal. Under the charter as passed, however, only policemen and firemen engaging in political activity are to be punished by fine and imprisonment and may be dismissed by taxpayer's action. The sole punishment of other city employees is dismissal from the service, and it is not made enforceable by a taxpayer's action.

These provisions, however, represent long steps forward, and while there are those who wanted all office-holders placed in the same category, the most dangerous, the police and the firemen are taken completely out of politics. This again represents the triumph of a generation's effort. The significance of the gain is fully appreciated when one recalls the notorious Fifth Ward scandal of 1917, where gunmen imported from New York operated under police protection to carry a ward and succeeded in murdering a policeman who was courageously trying to do his duty. For years one of the chief obligations laid upon a Philadelphia policeman had been to serve his political sponsors.

In commenting on this liberating feature of the new charter, the *North American* said:

The criminal classes and large number of the foreign-born population have been voted under police control, being corrupted by grants of immunity from prosecution for lawbreaking or coerced by threats of punishment. The murderous political outrages perpetrated in the Fifth Ward in September, 1917, when an uncorrupted policeman was killed and public officials were assaulted by imported gunmen, aroused a public sentiment which demanded a sweeping away of the atrocious system.

Philadelphia is now in a position where she can depend upon her policemen to do police work and leave politics alone, likewise her firemen. Thus the power and psychology of the uniformed office-holder bids fair to become a thing of the past. Per contra

a new look of independence and efficiency is coming into the eyes of policemen and firemen. They are beginning to realize and appreciate at its real value that they are public servants and not slaves of selfish political interests.

In the platform upon which Hon. J. Hampton Moore was elected, the first mayor of Philadelphia under the new charter, there was this plank:

Second. *Contractor rule.* For many years Philadelphia has been misgoverned by a contractors' combine; public officials have been selected and appointed by contractors who take enormous profits from the city treasury. There can be no condemnation too severe for a system whereby a politician nominates and elects the officer of a city, who, in turn, awards valuable contracts to him and oversees his work. The result is an increase in taxes and the waste of public money. Out of these profits a vast corruption fund is created which is used to bribe and intimidate voters and win elections for the contractor's candidates. This condition is intolerable, and any candidate put forward by the contractor interests must be opposed and defeated, however respectable he may appear to be.

For a full generation Philadelphia had "contractor rule" or "rule by contractors," whichever way one may choose to put it. The same set of men secured the contracts and were potential in selecting those who had supervision of them. Certainly a nice arrangement—for the contractors who seem to have profited greatly by the arrangement, both politically and in fine houses and fine raiment and in substantial bank accounts. During the mayoralty campaign of 1911 the *Philadelphia Record* declared that one of the contractor bosses was worth at least three millions of dollars, and I do not recall that the editor has withdrawn the statement.

In commenting on this situation *Public Works* (formerly known as *The Municipal Journal*) pointed out that it is not necessarily objectionable from the citizens' and taxpayers' standpoint to have such work done by contract but

in this particular case the awarding of contracts for these purposes has become one of the greatest municipal disgraces to be found in the country. Each of these services requires an enormous equipment for a city as large as Philadelphia, while the disposing of the garbage requires a very expensive plant, which, if not used for this purpose, is of practically no value for sale or other use; and yet it had become the practice to delay advertising these contracts

until a very few weeks before the letting (sometimes only two or three), and to let contracts for only one or possibly two years at a time, thus making it impracticable for any bidder to offer reasonable terms except those who were already doing the work and accordingly had the necessary equipment, or else those who felt satisfied that their pull with the powers in control would be sufficient in the future to guarantee their obtaining the contract for several years to come. No contractor could safely make a contract for one year, with no guarantee that he would be able to renew the contract for the succeeding year or years, without including in his price a sufficient amount to entirely reimburse himself for the cost of the equipment. This was one of the most outstanding features which condemned the Philadelphia system of awarding these contracts, but the politicians in control had numerous other methods of rewarding favorites, punishing those who rebelled against their control and entirely eliminating from the competition those whom they did not favor.

It is true that, with the work done by city forces, opportunities for graft are by no means eliminated; but at least the contemptible politicians who have acquired millions through their control of these public services, although themselves holding no position in the government, will be required to reveal themselves, or the grafting methods can be traced more directly to the officials personally responsible for them, who can be gotten at directly by the votes of the public if not by the law.

An effective way of getting rid of the contractors therefore was for the city to do its own work. Philadelphia of all the large cities of the country has been allowing contractors to clean its streets and remove its waste of various kinds. Hereafter the city shall do these things except in special cases when a majority of all the members elected to the council, with the approval of the mayor, may authorize and direct otherwise. This great change in public policy is to be borne in mind when reading the praises of the spokesmen of the Vares (the contractor bosses) when they realized that they could not defeat the charter. These statements represent study in political opportunism. State Senator Vare resorted to every known political expedient to defeat the measure: delay, objurgation, chicanery, wire-pulling, and so on through the whole long list of twisting and turning to which designing politicians resort were brought into play for weeks and months. All to no avail, however. Then *volte face*—their floor leader—one John R. K. Scott, known as a "tenderloin lawyer," praised the bill and Governor Sproul, who had steadfastly stood by the charter from the beginning.

Here is one interview with Senator Vare which is illuminating in more ways than one, and interesting, although lacking the pungency that seasoned the utterances of George Washington Plunkett and Richard Croker. After declaring the measure ridiculous he said:

If the new council wanted the city to do its own work how could it get ready in the middle of the summer? It will take at least a year to raise the necessary funds to finance such a big enterprise. Plants and equipment will cost the city between \$5,000,000 and \$10,000,000. If the charter revisionists had their way, the city would face a situation whereby the job of doing its own street cleaning would be forced upon it with no funds available to carry it out.

The proposal to deprive men of their constitutional rights by prohibiting them from taking any interest in party affairs simply because they hold office under the city is asinine. Their rights should be guarded and protected under the constitution the same as those of any other citizen who has interest enough in the affairs of his own city to want to have some say in its government.

I want to take this opportunity to warn the taxpayers that the taxes will go sky-high, under this bill prepared by impractical people if it should happen to become a law. Every person who has had anything to do with the bill will be ashamed of it and trying to run away from it within six months after it is in operation.

The contractors presented the interesting feature of having certain of their adherents praise the measure (and all of them, with two exceptions, voting for it on final passage) and having certain others find mare's-nests in the bill. "When the devil was sick," and all the rest of the doggerel, was aptly illustrated.

At the present moment the chief of the bureau of street cleaning (a former army officer who was selected from an eligible list resulting from a civil service test) is conducting the necessary preliminary study into the advisability of having the streets cleaned and garbage, ashes, and refuse collected by city force. In the words of the editor of *Public Works*:

Without being over-sanguine, we hope that this may be the beginning of a movement for the improvement of public service conditions in Philadelphia which will end in the public's finally casting off the strangling embrace of the two or three "old men of the sea" whom they have for years been carrying as unofficial recipients of a large share of their taxes.

Article 8 of the new charter act creates in Philadelphia's government a new department, the Department of Public Welfare. This article outlines the powers of the department but leaves the details of organization and administra-

tion to the council and the department head. Briefly stated the main functions of the department are:

1. To "have the care, management, administration, and supervision of all charitable, correctional, and reformatory institutions, and agencies (including any house of correction, but not including hospitals), the control or government of which is entrusted to" the city;

2. "To create, organize, manage, and supervise the various playgrounds, recreation centers, municipal floating-baths, bathing-grounds, and recreation piers, . . . and to plan and recommend . . . and, after appropriate action by ordinance, to create and develop, an adequate and complete system of playgrounds and recreation centers and related activities"; and

3. To "have jurisdiction over such other matters affecting the public welfare as may be provided for by ordinance."

Under the old law the more distinctly social-welfare activities of the city were scattered among various departments and boards. The bureau of correction in the department of public safety had control of the house of correction at Holmesburg; the bureau of charities of the department of public health and charities, managed the general hospital and almshouse; the board of recreation had charge of playgrounds and other recreational activities. Under the new charter all these activities were placed under a department of public welfare. This department may be authorized by the council to take over other welfare activities also. The creation of this department is in line with modern practice in many cities, notably Kansas City and Dayton. In all of these cities highly beneficial results have followed the establishment of welfare departments. The creation of the department of public welfare left the bureau of health as the only bureau in the present department of public health and charities. That bureau is a very large one, containing several divisions—medical inspection, housing and sanitation, dispensaries, vital statistics, child hygiene, food-inspection laboratories, and contagious-disease hospitals—and is of sufficient importance to be a separate department. The charter accomplished this, at the same time abolishing the double-barreled department of public health and charities.

It remained, however, for Senator Vare to point out the iniquity of such a management. In an interview he said "the charter bill notwithstanding some corrections made by Governor Sproul is still ridiculous. Picture the paupers in the county almshouses

and the children in our public playgrounds associated under one department."

Some other features included the shortening of the ballot by making the city's law officer (the city solicitor) an appointive rather than an elective one; the creation of a purchasing agent in place of a department of supplies, and provision for a city architect to take over all the routine architectural work of the city. The more important architectural work however may be handled by outside architects specially chosen by the city architect with the approval of the mayor. Besides co-ordinating a highly specialized part of the city's work now widely scattered among the departments, this arrangement will undoubtedly effect a considerable saving in money.

This new instrument of municipal government has great possibilities, which the first administration chosen to carry into effect, is proceeding to use for the advancement of the true interests of the city. Fortunately the people were sufficiently aroused to the situation and sufficiently well organized to secure the election of a capable man to the mayoralty in the person of J. Hampton Moore. He beat the so-called "unbeatable Vare machine" in the Republican primaries but only by the narrow majority of 1,313. His election in November was by an overwhelming majority. Mayor Moore had made for himself a place high in the federal Congress by reason of his intelligence, industry, and persistence. Moreover, he is not afraid to be known as a politician and his foes know him as a valiant fighter. All of these qualifications he is manifesting in his assumption of the great powers as mayor of Philadelphia.

How came he to be nominated over the popular candidate of so powerful an organization? To his own personality and ability as a campaigner there were added the backing of the independent forces of the city and the Penrose Republican Alliance. All worked together with the result that there was elected a man to carry into effect the highly prized charter of whom the *North American* could say:

The citizens of this city pay a fine tribute to Mayor Moore in accepting at face value his assurances that he intends to make the welfare of the city paramount to all other interests. Philadelphians have heard former mayors

make solemn pledges and virtuous protestations, only to be cast aside for political and personal advantage. But Mayor Moore has already given satisfying proof that his chief aim is to serve the city honestly. This proof lies in his wise and courageous course in meeting every important test which thus far has confronted him as mayor-elect and mayor.

He has shown that he is not only unalterably opposed to the sinister contracting interests which he was pledged and elected to combat, but he has proved that in his official acts as mayor he has been absolutely independent of all other political and special interests.

The most impressive illustration of how his administration is regarded by those who have most at stake is the bitter antagonistic attitude of the Vare political machine. Senator Vare, as dictator of the city Republican organization, defined his attitude toward the new mayor some weeks ago in language intended to intimidate Mr. Moore. This was before the cabinet appointments had been made, and the purpose of the Vare outbreak was obvious.

After the names of the new directors had been announced, disclosing to Senator Vare the disconcerting fact that the mayor had not been moved by the contractors' threats, open war was declared on the new administration. Every effort was made to hamper and even to prevent the orderly reorganization of the city government under the new charter.

The character of a mayor's cabinet appointments may be accepted as an almost infallible index of his aims and purposes, as well as an earnest of the character of the administration.

Whence this admirable charter, about 90 per cent of which became a law in the shape in which it was originally drafted?

Four years ago a charter committee prepared a series of bills to accomplish the reforms embodied in the law of 1919. There were nearly a score of them, which represented close study, hard work, and a very long step forward—but they fell by the wayside. In fact they did not even get out of the committees. Senator Vare was "very much on the job" and had a friendly, not to say a docile, governor in the executive mansion in the person of Governor Brumbaugh. Senator Penrose who favored them was kept in Washington because of the war situation and so Senator Vare took the first set 6-0. The latter does not understand the progressive and never will. He is as defective in his psychology as the Prussian whom he undoubtedly follows in his methods. The charter revisionists were merely delayed, however, in their efforts—not defeated. They renewed their work in the autumn of 1918, got the new governor, William C. Sproul, interested, and kept him

interested to the end. The new movement was inaugurated at a great charter dinner in December, 1918, nine hundred men and women being present—among them Governor-elect Sproul and his attorney-general, William I. Shaffer. From that dinner until the signing of the bill he took a leading part, and it was due to his interest, activity, and forcefulness that Philadelphia has a charter that may properly and conservatively be regarded as a most substantial contribution to the better government of America's third city.

A single measure was agreed upon, a codification of the Bullitt Bill and its amendments with such changes as have been noted and many others of a less conspicuous character necessary for the easy running of the city's machinery. The committee not only drafted the measure, but actively advanced it throughout the city and state, on the stump, in the press, by pamphlet, in the legislative halls, everywhere that an audience could be gathered, and, although the charter revisionists only had ten votes out of forty-one in the Philadelphia delegation to the House of Representatives and two out of the eight senators from the city, they broke legislative precedent and secured the passage of the bill by an overwhelming vote and finally by a practically unanimous vote. When the Vares saw the handwriting on the wall, during a series of test votes, they made virtue of a necessity and "turned in."

How was such a result achieved? There is no doubt among those most closely in touch with the situation that United States Senator Boies Penrose was the greatest single factor in securing the passage of the bill. He brought the weight of his personal influence and of the state organization to bear at critical times. It is only fair to say that without his personal help the measure would have foundered on the rocks. There are those who feel that his interest was primarily a political one—but as I have said on another occasion such overlook the fact that he is a long-time student of city government and that he has long cherished a desire to give to his native city a charter worthy of the city's need and opportunities. So active has he been in recent years in federal affairs and state politics that his fellow-townsmen forget that his first contribution as a publicist was an account of the government of the city of Philadelphia, which he prepared in conjunction with

his then partner (the late Edward P. Allinson) for the Johns Hopkins University series. This book, a model of concise and accurate statement, remains to this day as the most satisfactory statement of Philadelphia's government from the early days of the enactment of the Bullitt Bill. It is to be hoped that this interesting and important publication will be brought up to date so as to include this new charter, which bears the name of Senator Woodward, who introduced it into the Senate and was its sponsor through the legislature.

Those in the confidence of Senator Penrose feel, I am told, that he is not through with his efforts to improve Philadelphia's governmental machinery and that he is studying other ways and means of giving Philadelphia the most modern and up-to-date form of government which can be devised. He feels, I believe, like many others who have given the situation their serious consideration, that the present charter, while it represents a long step forward, is only a step, and by no means the last word. The mayor is still too powerful as an appointing officer and it is out of keeping with modern efficiency methods to make the chief executive of a great corporation subject to the winds and whimsies of politics. When public sentiment is ready for the next step (and we must not overlook the fact that sound public sentiment is leisurely in its development), it will be in the direction of a chief administrator chosen by the council. On several occasions the senior senator has spoken along these lines and it is to be hoped that he will be sufficiently free of other obligations in the near future to give the weight of his personal influence to the active advocacy of these views.

Accompanying the charter bills and enacted through the same influences were a series of electoral reform measures designed to curtail the power of organization control in Philadelphia. Among them was one giving effect to the marking of the ballot so that the voter who marked a straight ticket and a candidate in some other column will have his vote for that candidate counted. Certainly a fair and proper thing to do. Another revised the registration law and opened the door to the reorganization of the Philadelphia board which had become a mere appendix of the Vare organization and revised certain of the onerous provisions that had been inserted

in the original bill (see *American Journal of Sociology*, XIII [1907], p. 252).

Another act for the preservation and return of all ballots which may have been soiled, spoiled, mismarked, mutilated, or rejected for any cause is regarded as an important check on election officers and a preventive of fraud and ballot-box stuffing. The practice of changing polling places arbitrarily for factional political reasons, which has obtained in the past, is ended by the third measure, which requires a petition signed by a majority of the electors in a division before a polling place can be changed.

In reporting on progress in Philadelphia mention must be made of certain of its organizations which have been devoting themselves with ability and public spirit to the city's problems. Easily chief among these is the Bureau of Municipal Research, to which reference has already been made. It concerns itself primarily with problems of administration and in the technique or mechanics of government rather than in "reform" or political activities to secure good men in office and to expose and punish corruption. Bureaus of municipal research are dedicated to the idea that citizens are ultimately responsible for their governments regardless of who is in office, and they therefore seek solutions for problems with as little emphasis as possible on personal or partisan considerations. The Philadelphia bureau has had a long record of accomplishment, and is regarded as having met with commendable success in spite of peculiarly difficult traditions. Like most of the other bureaus it started out with specific studies of governmental departments, with constructive recommendations as to their improvements. In the beginning it met with hostile suspicion on the part of most of the officials, but it gradually established working relations with a great many of the more important officers, and for the first six or seven years it submitted a number of carefully prepared reports which have led to concrete improvements in Philadelphia's local government. Among the permanent results that stand out prominently in this earlier work of the bureau are the following:

The Board of Education reorganized its bureau of compulsory education and made it an effective and serviceable part of the educational system instead of a haven for broken-down henchmen.

The greater part of the early activities of the bureau were in the field of accounting and finance. Prior to 1909 the accounts of all city departments (including the controller's office) were in effect merely memoranda of cash transactions. The bureau co-operated with the controller for several years in installing modern fund and expense accounts in his office and the work was extended to a number of other bureaus and departments. This was accomplished through the assistance of Will B. Hadley, then in the bureau, but subsequently made deputy controller and finally controller. The bureau also co-operated in the preparation of the controller's manual of accounting, which was hailed the country over as a great step forward in municipal accounting.

Budget work has occupied its attention for nearly every year since its organization, and it is interesting to note that the very word "budget" was not even used in connection with municipal finances prior to the bureau's appearance on the scene. Great advance has been made in budget procedure, although the progress seems imperceptibly slow at times, the last signal advance having been made in connection with the financial provisions of the new city charter.

A piece of work done in the Bureau of Health resulted in great benefit. It was the compilation of a digest of all the laws and ordinances pertaining to the public health. These were formerly scattered through numerous volumes and the health authorities and their employees were in frequent difficulty for the lack of a comprehensive guide. Because of the fact that the health officials' time was already fully taken up with their usual duties, they found it impossible to give the amount of time, as well as energy, needed for such a job as making a digest, and the proffer of help from the bureau was heartily welcomed. The work proved so satisfactory that the department printed the digest—a 250-page octavo volume.

For seventeen years there had been no revision of the manual carried by each patrolman for his guidance. A new manual, up to date in every respect, and containing in compact form the vast amount of information needed by every policeman, was drawn up and a copy given to every member of the force. Some of the work on this manual, as well as most of the installation of

the other plans for improving methods in the department of public safety, was done by Captain Martin H. Ray (formerly in the United States Army), who was detailed to serve as special aide to Director George D. Porter, but who remained on the bureau staff and pay-roll.

The bureau had an opportunity for rendering service in a type of governmental unit in which few bureaus of municipal research and civic bodies have as a rule done little. In February, 1915, the municipal court, which had begun operations only about a year previously, found that its domestic-relations division was having difficulty in taking care of its records and social statistics. President Judge Charles L. Brown realized the difficulty, and invited the bureau to survey the division with a view to introducing the Hollerith system of compiling information. The invitation was accepted with the proviso that it need not confine itself merely to the problem of tabulation, and it proceeded to make a report on the organization, methods and procedure of the division. It devised a new system for keeping case records and installed a complete system of mechanical tabulation of the social and procedural data of the domestic-relations cases.

These are illustrations of the bureau's activities and are selected, primarily, for their diversity, but also to show the permanent and cumulative value of this kind of work. Some of the later activities were made possible when the agency had won a place of greater service in the community, and had established itself as a definite civic force through the patient and persistent efforts of its first years.

Reference has already been made to the bureau's interest in civil service matters to which it has made and is making substantial contributions. The Civil Service Reform Association is another organization which has been actively at work along constructive lines co-operating with the various officials and especially with the Civil Service Commission. It and the bureau co-operated in the drafting of the new charter and are now helping Mayor Moore and his colleagues to give it real force and effect.

By and large Philadelphia is making progress, the rapidity and extent depending as always on the activity and co-operation of the citizen.